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PALESTINE LIVES

The Myth of Linkage in the Egyptian-Israeli Talks

Since a momentum for an Egyptian-Israeli settlement was precipitated by the wretched Camp David agreement last September, the Palestinian people and the question of Palestine have been fair game for abuse by outsiders, all vying with each other to speak for the Palestinians, to define what Palestinian rights are, and to fight over who is going to rule over them this time around.

The consequence of this has been to reduce the dignity of the struggle of the Palestinian people for freedom and statehood to a fragment — having to do with “autonomy” on the West Bank/Gaza, as if that is all there is to the Palestinian problem.

By the middle of the month, a tri-partite assault was still being mounted by the Egyptian regime, the Zionist regime, and the U.S. Government to impose dehumanized settlement on the Palestinians, without their consent and over their heads, which would seek to perpetuate the Palestinian condition of occupation and exile and legitimize Israel's policy of Zionist *apartheid* and territorial *fait accompli* in Palestine. These latest efforts — appearing in the guise of “linkage” — have devolved upon a blatant celebration of violence inflicted on the Palestinians: how many more Palestinian rights can be sacrificed and how much more of Palestine can be given away to the Zionist movement in order to meet the needs of a settlement between Egypt and the Zionist regime. (A manifestation of this was an Egyptian proposal November 15 that the question of the West Bank and its inhabitants will be shelved in favor of a settlement of sorts in Gaza, a mere 3% segment of Palestine).

With others speaking for the Palestinians — Egyptian President Sadat, boldly and with no fear of retribution — the meaning of who the Palestinians are and what constitutes their rights has become incomprehensible. The post-Camp David negotiations, in their attempt to dignify the concept of “self-rule” and to totally ignore the mass sentiments of the Palestinians themselves, represent no less than a flight from political reality, a game played against historical imperatives, aimed at creating a fabricated political social world for the Palestinians that is mockingly remote from their aspirations.

What is this world that Egypt, Isrel and the United States are trying to create for the Palestinians? And what is the disjunction between it and the facts of Palestinian life and the Palestinian struggle?

The most overt and visible aspects of recent developments is the Egyptian regime's attempt to “link” resolution of the Palestinian problem to an Egyptian-Israeli settlement — no matter that this “linkage” on behalf of the Palestinians has been totally unsolicited and totally condemned by the Palestinians themselves. Translated into reality, this does two things for the Palestinians: their dismemberment as a people and the reduction of their problem to a question of civil administration on the West Bank, territorially a mere fragment of Palestine and politically, a mere component of the many other components of the Palestinian problem.

Ultimately, this implies, as is suggested in the Camp David accords, that Palestinians on the West Bank/Gaza are to be severed from Palestinians in the diaspora. These latter are dismissed as a “refugee problem” and divided into refugees from 1967 and 1948, each with a formula for resolving their problems that is independent of the other. Within this framework, the whole Palestinian problem is encapsulated in the West Bank/Gaza, a concern with the mere civil rights of one segment of the Palestinian people. Palestinians cannot contemplate statehood, the right to be free and the hope of re-assembling themselves as one society and

one people determining their own destiny, protected by the laws and institutions of a nation-state.

It is no wonder, then, that not one single Palestinian has come forward to lend a helping hand in efforts aimed, in effect, at the enslavement of the Palestinian people at worst, and at best, at denying their minimum rights to be free.

The Palestinians are one people. Brought together by a commonality of national nexus and historical struggle, they have already long since become a cohesive society with one set of meanings through which they have related to themselves, to each other, and to the world. These meanings have created and specified one common, national purpose and explained the character of their shared historical experience. An assault on these meanings, as embodied in the total intended dismemberment of the Palestinians and the denial of their right to be free (in effect, the right to be Palestinian) will prompt, as it has done already, a reinforcement in the commitment of the Palestinians to continue their struggle. An assault of this kind on the Palestinians aimed at thrusting on them the “autonomy plan” in the West Bank/Gaza as terminus of their rights, is a criminal assault on Palestinian society, on the Palestinian people and on Palestinian rights — and the Palestinian movement will respond to it in the appropriate manner.

Palestinians already place the machinations of the Camp David accords alongside the Balfour Declaration, the League of Nations decision to authorize the presence of British colonialism in Palestine, and the United Nations partition plan of 1947. But whereas all of these could be adopted without the participation of the Palestinians, the Camp David accords cannot be implemented in Palestine without the cooperation of the Palestinians.

And this cooperation will never be forthcoming.

This cooperation has come exclusively from President Sadat who has been freely trading Palestinian rights and making one concession after another every other day as if the Palestinians have endowed him with any authority to be their representative.

One immutable fact of life in the Middle East is that, over the last sixty years, no one has spoken for the Palestinians except Palestinian leaders themselves. In the 1970s, only the PLO can, and will, represent the aspirations of the Palestinian masses. The centrality of this question in the Arab-Israeli dispute is unmistakable. It is useful to recall a quotation from the *Al Ahram* newspaper, March 13, 1977:

“The Palestinian people is the sole decision maker with respect to anything that concerns its destiny and its cause. No one, whoever he may be, may exercise a trusteeship over or impose his will upon the Palestinian people. For a decision that does not emanate from a free will is devoid of its very essence. We . . . insist that the Palestinian shall remain sovereign and independent, free from bondage or interference. We equally insist that all the decisions which has generated shall be fully respected — foremost of which is the decision to designate the Palestine Liberation Organization as its sole legitimate representative, the defender of its rights and interests.”

This statement was made by no other than Mohamad Anwar Sadat.

This statement should draw the attention not only of the Egyptian leader but anyone, anywhere, who is determining what to forgo as available, and what to face as a constant, in the historical equation in the Middle East.

Prominent Egyptians Object to Sadat Initiative

The American media, in the euphoria of building Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's image as a peace maker, has neglected Egyptian opposition to Sadat's recent policies. Coming from different individuals and organizations, this opposition represents genuine and deep-rooted political trends. It clearly indicates that Sadat does not speak for all the Egyptian people, and that he is quite isolated in his new and disastrous policy.

Sadat's Egyptian critics have focused on a number of basic issues. Foremost in their minds is Egypt's interests as an Arab power in the Middle East. They point out that Sadat's policies have isolated Egypt from the Arab world and have reduced its prestige and power in the area. They stress that Sadat has harmed Egypt's economic interests, since Egypt is dependent on Arab financial aid and since a high percentage of its national income depends on Arab oil money, as well as on Egyptian labor in other Arab states.

From the military point of view, Sadat's critics have challenged the Camp David agreements because Israel will maintain a military presence in the Negev, increase its military power through U.S. military aid and limit Egypt's military presence in the Sinai.

The critics also point out that Israel has received all the benefits — recognition, a peace treaty and economic, diplomatic and cultural ties — before withdrawing its military forces from occupied Arab lands. They also stress that Sadat has abandoned the Palestinian cause, and has rejected the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian right to an independent Palestinian state. Thus, in effect, Sadat has accepted Israeli demands and abandoned Egypt's commitment to United Nations and Arab Summit resolutions calling for complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, as well as recognizing the national rights of the Palestinian people.

Sadat's closest advisors and allies have resigned in protest of his individualistic and dangerous initiative. His top foreign ministers, Ismael Fahmi, Mahmoud Riad, and Mohamad Kamel turned in their resignations, reflecting a political current in the foreign ministry that opposes Sadat's surrender to Israeli demands at Camp David. Mohamad Kamel stressed in a Cairo interview that he had resigned because the Camp David agreements affected Egypt's



Sadat and his critics

national sovereignty and denied Egypt the freedom to protect its land.

In a series of articles written in early 1978 for *Al Mustakbal*, Ismael Fahmi warned of the danger of isolating Egypt from the Arab world, and proposed an Arab Summit that would draw a comprehensive strategy for peace and would be based on Arab unity and solidarity. Although Mohamad Kamel has not made any public statements, there is no question that his resignation reflects his anger at Sadat's abandonment of the PLO and the national rights of the Palestinians at Camp David.

Within the military establishment, there is also marked opposition to Sadat. General Saad al-Din Shazli's resignation as Egyptian Ambassador to Portugal and his subsequent criticism of Sadat reflects a deep-rooted current of protest within the Egyptian army. He stressed that the Camp

David agreements will remove the Egyptian armed forces from the arena, which will weaken the Arab position, and allow Israel to bargain from a position of superior strength. Shazli stressed that in the absence of democratic dialogue over these issues in Egypt, the army will eventually move to oust Sadat.

Moreover, the removal of War Minister Abdel Gani Gamasi and Chief of Staff Mohamad Ali Fahmi reflected their concern that from the military point of view, the Camp David agreements weaken Egypt in Sinai and give Israel the upper hand. Israel will rebuild two advanced air bases in the Negev, will receive huge amounts of military supplies from the U.S. and thus, will continue to maintain military superiority in the Sinai region.

Other important criticism of Sadat comes
(Continued on page 5)

Lebanon: Reconstruction or Destruction?

Whalid Jumblatt, one of five leaders of the Lebanese National Movement currently touring the U.S., stated in a recent speech that he came to the United States "with a sense of relief if not yet satisfaction" because "positive developments have taken place in the general Arab scene and within Lebanon." This hopeful note, coming from a country devastated by a series of tragic conflicts, was also sounded by other delegation members — Inam Ra'ad, Dr. Samir Sabbagh, Dr. Albert Mansour and Mr. Karim M'Rouwi. Their message was not that the problems of Lebanon were easily solved, but that the reconstruction of Lebanon — a new, democratic Lebanon — is possible at this stage through Lebanese and Arab unity, rejection of Israeli interference and firm adherence to democratic and progressive principles.

This message jars with the common American media perception of the Lebanese situation — portrayed as a hopeless "quagmire" where the cycle of violence is inevitable and never-ending. The media has been consistently blind to the nature of the Lebanese conflict, persistently characterizing it as a "religious war" fueled by age-old animosity between Christian and Moslem. This blindness has been aggravated in recent months by what *Washington Post* Foreign News Editor Ed Cody in an article of October 20 called "a concerted campaign with considerable help from pro-Israeli lobbyists" to win support for the rightwing militias in Lebanon on the grounds that the "Christian community" in Lebanon is under siege. The American Lebanese League, headed by Robert Basil, is spearheading this effort.

In fact, these political parties — the National Liberal Party of Camille Chamoun and the Phalangist Party of Pierre Gemayel — that the American Lebanese League portrays as defenders of humane and civilized values, are not only organized on fascist lines, but embrace fascist and racist ideology. For example, a popular Phalangist poster in Beirut in the fall of 1976 was called the "Resurrection of Lebanon." It portrayed a God-like Caucasian who has just killed a black, Asian and brown man, and is about to stab a Palestinian.

This, of course is not the face shown to the American press or legislators. One ALL full-page ad in the *Washington Post* of July 6 appealed to the "world's religious communities" and claimed the "world is silent when the agenda is genocide." But when another fierce outbreak of fighting began this September, it was the right that

sparked the conflict with the Arab Deterrent Forces that caused another round of death and destruction to come to Lebanon. French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud noted "It was the Christian militias that started the latest free-for-all in the battle of Beirut." Dominating Lebanon, rather than saving lives, emerges as the real rightist policy. In a Washington press conference, Whalid Jumblatt remarked that "They (the rightists) are willing to destroy Lebanon if they cannot control it."

The Lebanese National Movement believes that all militias must disarm and that authority must be restored to the central government and to a reconstituted Lebanese army that represents all of Lebanese society. The right has refused to lay down its arms. These arms are supplied by Israel, which has a strong interest in keeping Lebanon destabilized and weak. In a thoughtful analysis presented at the AAUG, Inam Ra'ad pointed out that: "What we are encountering in Lebanon is Zionism at its highest stage in its endeavors to Zionize a part of the local population." In other words, Israel has replaced the old colonial powers in the Middle East that traditionally gained influence by "protecting" a religious or ethnic minority and pitting it against the other sectors of the population. Thus, Israel achieves a fragmentation of Lebanese society into "mini-racial and religious feuding minorities," which prevents Lebanon from solving its problems of underdevelopment and social and political inequality.

Ra'ad, himself a Christian Catholic, emphasizes that it is "wrong factually and dangerous politically to dismiss all Maronites as pro-Zionist," and points to the numbers of Maronites in the progressive parties, as well as Maronites like Franjieh (assassinated by the Phalangists) and Raymond Edde, who have balked at the rightist alliance with Israel. Dory Chamoun, son of Camille Chamoun, recently tacitly admitted in an interview in Washington, that it is politics not religion, that divides Lebanon. After expressing his hope that the President of Lebanon, Elias Sarkas would not only leave office, but "leave this world" as well, Chamoun remarked "Not all Christians are Christian."

The rightist claim to uphold "civilization" against barbarism and fanaticism cannot bear scrutiny. One remembers the young Chamounist in the film "The Palestinian" who advocated the murder of Palestinian children to prevent them from growing up to be fighters. Against this blind hatred, the



Whalid Jumblatt

Lebanese National Movement is issuing a call to confront fanaticism with reason and progress. Dr. Samir Sabbagh noted that "We stand for the establishment of a modern state which will treat the political, economic, and social affairs of Lebanon in a democratic, progressive way. The future Lebanon must separate church from state and must be willing to offer equal opportunity to all of its citizens."

The tasks facing the Lebanese National Movement are admittedly immense. Whalid Jumblatt remarked that: "Restoration of confidence, dissipating revengeful trends, eradicating excessive partisanship, will require us all to muster our innate wisdom and sense of commitment. Many who have been exhausted by the wars of Lebanon will mistake stagnation for stability. We must ensure that stability leads to progress."

The possibilities for progress and stability in Lebanon, the LNM feels, have been enhanced by several recent events, among them rapprochement between Syria and Iraq, which could lead to a "new Arab consensus" to confront the problem of Lebanon and the wider regional crisis posed by the Camp David agreements. Jumblatt also cited the resolutions taken by the Arab Foreign Ministers at Beiteddine, Lebanon on October 9. These resolutions rejected "direct and regular dealings with the enemy of Lebanon — Israel," "partition of Lebanon under any form or pretext," and "internationalization of the Lebanese problem." Jumblatt noted that "this means that Lebanon is recognized as a united Arab country," a fundamental principle in building a new secular and democratic Lebanon.

Yet, even as the possibilities for an end to the agony of Lebanon grow, so also do new
(Continued on page 5)

dangers. The Camp David agreements, with their fundamental denial of Palestinian rights, have launched, not a "peace process," but a process inevitably leading to more violence and injustice. And Lebanon could easily be the target for another Israeli invasion, aimed at destroying the Palestinian revolution and undermining the Steadfastness Front. U.S. collusion is also a possibility. Possible scenarios are many, but it is clear that Camp David offers a greenlight for Israel and the U.S. to implement their wishes in the area. And as Karim M'Rouwi pointed out, the March 1977 Israeli invasion of Lebanon was not just against the Palestinians, but to fulfill a historic Zionist aim of dominating Lebanon.

In the analysis of the Lebanese delegation from the LMN, it is evident that the LNM is equipped to face the historic challenges of the reconstruction of Lebanon. They have already proved their capabilities. Whalid Jumblatt, remarking on the "historic responsibilities of the Movement in the last

five years in relation to the Palestinian people," said: "We feel that by standing firm with the Palestinian revolution, we are not only the agents of contemporary Arab history, but we are among the makers of that history."

The Lebanese National Movement has developed a "Transitional Program" for the reconstruction of a democratic Lebanon. Copies are available for \$.75 from MERIP, P.O. Box 3122, Columbia Heights Station, Washington, D.C. 20011.



Tal al Zaatar camp: Can Lebanon rebuild?

Prominent Egyptians

(Continued from page 3)

from his old colleagues in the 1952 Revolutionary Council, the leaders of the revolution against the despotic monarchy of King Farouk. The four prominent "free army-officers" — Zakaria Muhiedien, Aboulatif Boghdadi, Kamal al-Din Husein and Husein Shafie — who had shared power with Sadat from 1952 to 1973, wrote a long open letter to him expressing their opposition and concern about the dangerous Camp David agreements.

The four stressed that as a result of this agreement, Egypt will be isolated from the Arab world, the Arabs will be weakened by disunity and Israel will become stronger as a result of gaining legitimacy and international support. They warned of the danger of liquidating the Palestinian cause, and abandoning the national rights of the Palestinian people, and of giving legitimacy to Israeli occupation and annexation of Arab lands such as the West Bank and Gaza.

Within the Egyptian Parliament, a number of party leaders and individual members expressed opposition to the Camp David agreements. A group of independent members of Parliament led by Dr. Helmi Murad signed a statement that warned of Israeli control over the Egyptian economy and criticized the abandonment of Arab Jerusalem and the right of self-determination and an independent state for the Palestinians in the agreements. They asked Sadat not to accept Israeli demands

until Israel evacuates all occupied Arab lands. Mahmoud Kadi also expressed this view by accusing Sadat of moving towards a separate peace with Israel and thus, abandoning the Arab cause and sacrificing Egypt's economic ties and relations with the oil-rich Arab states. Kamal Ahmed, a Nasserite member of Parliament, also opposed Sadat's policies because they were not discussed and approved by Parliament and thus were undemocratic in nature.

Dr. Murad Kamel also stressed that Camp David totally ignored United Nations and Arab Summit resolutions about the PLO and the Palestinian right to an independent Palestinian state. He argued that the "self-government" proposed for the West Bank and Gaza was restricted by so many conditions in the agreements that it limited Palestinians governing their own affairs.

Opposition to Sadat has also come from conservative parties such as the Muslim Brotherhood, who criticize Sadat's abandonment of Arab Jerusalem. Their leader, Omar Tulsunani, criticized giving Israel recognition before it abides by U.N. resolutions and he pointed to Sadat's abandoning Jerusalem as a Muslim religious center.

The Nasserite and leftist parties in Parliament also condemned Sadat's initiative. Khaled Mehiedien, head of the "Nationalist Coalition" stressed that the Camp David agreements bring U.S. hegemony and control to the area.

Reflecting a nationalist and progressive

view, a number of prominent officials and journalists also have spoken out against Sadat's policies. Abdel Majed Farid, exiled in Algiers, declared that the only way to regain Arab lands is for Egypt to rejoin Arab ranks, to receive Arab financial support and to strengthen its armed forces. He criticized Sadat's individualistic approach and expressed support for the Baghdad summit conference. In Libya, Egyptian journalist Abdel Rahman Khamiesi also criticized Sadat and accused him of serving American interests and totally ignoring Egyptian national rights. The most influential of Egyptian journalists, Mohamed Husanien Heikal has written extensively against Sadat's strategy and has advocated closer cooperation with the two super-powers, as well as the Arab states, to arrive at a more comprehensive peace.

A number of prominent Egyptian lawyers also have spoken against Sadat's policies. Abdel-Aziz Shorbaji and Ahmed Hilali both warned against the new American plots to deny Egypt her sovereignty and called on the Egyptian people to stand up to the challenge and protect Egypt's national interest.

Egyptian opposition to Sadat, therefore, comes from within his own establishment, as well as from Parliament, political parties and journalists. It reflects deep-rooted Egyptian commitment to the Arab cause and the firm belief that Egypt is part of the Arab nation and that it will not abandon the Palestinian cause, regardless of Sadat's present policies.

Scholars and Activists Confront the Challenge of Camp David

The 800 people attending the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Association of Arab American University Graduates October 27-29 met at a particularly critical juncture not only for scholarship about the Arab world, but for the Arab world itself. The theme of this year's convention—"The Social Integration of the Arab World"—had a special timeliness as speakers and audience sought to grapple with the crucial questions raised for the Arab world in the wake of Camp David. Dr. Fayed Sayegh, a noted Palestinian scholar, sounded the theme when he said: "The challenge of Camp David is to remember what made Camp David possible and to dedicate ourselves to making other Camp Davids impossible."

Dr. Sayegh's challenge to progressive Arab and American intellectuals and activists was to understand Camp David not as an isolated event or as the mistake or betrayal of one Arab leader, but in its total historical and political context. In other words, to analyze the past in order to plan and implement a strategy for the future that assures true independence and self-determination for the Palestinian people and the Arab world as a whole.

The alternative was presented starkly. The "promises" of Camp David, even if they are met, were analyzed thus: "A fraction of the Palestinian people (under one-third of the whole) is promised a fraction of its rights (not including the national right to self-determination and statehood) in a fraction of its homeland (less than one-fifth of the area of the whole) and this promise is to be fulfilled several years from now, through a step by step process in which Israel is able at every point to exercise a decisive veto power over any agreement. Beyond that, the vast majority of Palestinians is condemned to permanent loss of its Palestinian national identity, to permanent exile and statelessness, to permanent separation from one another and from Palestine—to a life without national hope or meaning."

Contributions to this assessment of Camp David came from Palestinians from all sectors—in speeches by Abu Ehab from Kuwait, Samih al Qassem from the Galilee, Sahar Khalifeh from the occupied West Bank, to name only a few. Other Arab and international experts, such as members of the Lebanese National Movement (see Forum article) and French journalist Eric Rouleau also addressed these questions.



Dr. Fayed Sayegh and Elaine Hagopian, past AAUG President

No speaker underestimated the grave dangers or the immense challenges contained in the Camp David agreements. AAUG President Fuad Moughrabi noted in his opening address that "Free men and women cannot accept the Camp David agreements, and the devaluation of human worth they represent. In 1917, the British Balfour Declaration relegated the people of Palestine to minority status and opened the doors to Zionist colonial settlerism. In 1978, an American Camp David agreement performs historical genocide by suggesting the continuing enslavement of the people of Palestine." Dr. Moughrabi was not using the word "genocide" rhetorically. Rather, he was suggesting that Camp David is as severe an attack on the Palestinian people and the Arab nation as the 1948 debacle that dispersed the Palestinian nation and imposed the Jewish state on the ruins of Palestine.

Moughrabi's words were reinforced by the Palestinian poet Samih al Qassem, a dedicated activist for Palestinian rights in the Galilee, who said: "The Arab national liberation movement in general and the Palestinian Revolution especially are facing a ferocious conspiracy, in a retreat called Camp David. The word 'camp' awakens ugly associations which drive us back to Camp Buchenwald. In Camp Buchenwald, physical liquidation was practiced; in Camp David they practice moral liquidation. They intended to make out of Camp David a political Camp Buchenwald in which the legitimate rights of our Palestinian Arab

people are trampled upon, mainly their deep-rooted right of self-determination and the right to establish their own independent state on the soil of their legitimate homeland."

In the face of such a challenge, AAUG speakers did not offer easy or pat answers. A genocidal attack obviously requires a total mobilization of the Palestinian and Arab people, and organization and strategy at all levels. But unlike 1948, because of the development of the Palestinian Revolution, the resources to defeat Camp David exist and can be mobilized. Dr. Fayed Sayegh noted: that "without our consent, Egypt may sign a separate peace treaty" but without the consent of the Palestinian people, the West Bank/Gaza proposal cannot be implemented. He urged a firm strategy of rejection of Palestinian participation in the "autonomy plan" noting that it was a serious mistake to believe the American argument that "the peace process has begun and Palestinians will get a better deal if they join the negotiations." He remarked that "the journey is like getting on a train. The tracks are laid, and the destination is pre-ordained."

Another Palestine National Council member, Dr. Edward Said, affirmed this rejection of Camp David and added that "beyond rejection" Palestinians must devise a positive strategy to unite and mobilize the Palestinian and Arab nation. The current and past heroism of the Palestinians living under occupation was cited by several

(Continued on page 14)

Yasser Arafat's Message to the Eleventh Annual Convention of the AAUG

Brothers and Sisters:

In the name of the Palestinian People in the occupied territories and in exile, it gives me pleasure to greet your Eleventh Annual Convention and to greet the AAUG which is playing a leading cultural role in mankind's struggle for building a better future.

We are following your convention, as we have followed your activities in past conventions that were characterized by serious and objective contributions to the issues and problems that deal with a better Arab future. The topics you have chosen for your research papers reflect serious interest and timing, because the integration of our Arab nation and the different sectors of its society is the core of our problem at this moment when danger surrounds us from all directions aiming at strengthening narrow regionalism. This at a time when international society is moving toward economic and political cooperation and away from division and separatism.

Our Arab nation is facing grave dangers and is suffering from chronic and acute problems because division has allowed these problems and dangers to spread to all walks of life. This at a time when our nation possesses the resources and energies necessary for full integration and coordination. We are confident that your analysis and

conclusions will emerge from extensive discussions, and we will give them our serious attention as we, in the Palestinian Revolution, fight for achieving our right to self-determination, return, and establishment of our independent Palestinian State.

At this stage of history we are facing one of the most vicious conspiracies against our revolution, and we view the danger from a broad perspective that sees the American Imperialist and Zionist forces moving with Sadat in Camp David, not only against Palestine, but also against the Arab nation and its future, and against the cause of freedom and justice. The Palestinian Revolution is carrying the banner of freedom and fighting to raise it in Palestine, and is safeguarding the international revolutionary banner that it proudly received from the victorious Vietnamese peasants five years ago.

The American unlimited support of Israel exposes the hypocrisy of human rights that Carter talks about because this support is at the expense of the human rights of the Palestinian people and it is a flagrant violation of the International Community that has condemned Zionism as a force of racism. The Camp David agreements, which our people totally rejected, have consolidated Israeli racist denial of our

historic rights and have neglected the long years of Arab and Palestinian struggle against Zionism. Sadat has given legitimacy to this Zionist enemy.

We thus declare to your convention, as we have declared to the whole world, that these agreements will not pass, and that without the national Arab and Palestinian rights, there will never be a solution in this area of struggle, where we are facing and challenging this oncoming danger. We will carry the burden heroically as revolutionaries.

Brothers and Sisters,

These agreements represent a great hurdle before our attempts at creating integration and unity of the Arab World, yet it also represents an important motive and reason for moving toward integration and cooperation. The Camp David agreements seek to fulfill the old British Colonialist dream to separate the Arab East from the Arab West and to give Arab legitimacy to this foreign Zionist body on our land that carries a foreign enclosed culture, and stands in the way of achieving Arab integration and unity.

Revolution until victory.

Your brother,
Yasser Arafat

Scholars... (Continued from page 6)

speakers as a key element in assuring the defeat of Camp David. Abu Ehab also noted that the Palestinians had faced one-third of the Israeli army in South Lebanon in March of 1977 and had the capability and will to withstand another attack.

The rapprochement between Iraqi and Syria was also hailed as a positive development for Arab unity. Statements by the Iraqi and Libyan Ambassadors to the United Nations also spoke of the need for unity and the resolve of their nations to stand by the PLO and the Palestinians. The current possibilities for genuine Arab unity provoked a number of discussions and analyzes. Dr. Moughrabi emphasized that integration in the Arab world will only be successful if "We formulate our nationalism on grounds that differ from the old romantic notions. A new model of integration is provided by the fusion between the Palestinian movement and the Lebanese National Movement. This historic fusion of

two movements represents to us the kind of integration that would enable the Arab world to stand firm in the face of Zionist and imperialist attacks." He went on to say that "The integration of the Arab world on grounds that are firm, democratic, secular and progressive poses in our opinion the most serious threat to Zionism and U.S. imperialism."

These grounds of unity were also cited as the basis of unity with forces in the U.S. fighting for a "just and sane foreign policy." One such alliance was in evidence at the convention as American Indian Movement activist Bill Means, explaining that Native Americans have suffered "371 Camp Davids" pledged his movement's support for the Palestinian and Arab cause.

The AAUG itself urged Arab-American "participation in the life of this country at every level" and noted that Arab Americans should hold fast to their principles, and "their culture, civilization, heritage and rights," in order to contribute to the struggle for a new international order. The AAUG

will participate in events around the United Nations International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, including a two day conference December 2 and 3 at the Biltmore Hotel in New York that strives to contribute further to a Palestinian strategy for the future.



Dr. Fuad Moughrabi

The Meaning of "Linkage"

On September 17, 1978, the Camp David Agreements were signed by both Mr. Sadat and Mr. Begin and witnessed by Mr. Carter. In these two agreements, Middle East observers there was found many surprises. Among that Egypt under Sadat accepted the principle of signing a separate peace treaty with Israel. The two agreements, observers agree, do not relate to one another. The passage of one agreement, the accord between Egypt and Israel, is not conditioned in any way upon the implementation of the other agreement, dealing with the West Bank and Gaza. Now we are introduced to a new term by Mr. Sadat, "linkage" between the two agreements.

In the preamble of the two agreements, the closest that any term comes to relating the two separate accords reads as follows: "... the parties are determined to reach a just, comprehensive, and durable settlement Middle East conflict through the conclusion of peace treaties based on Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 in all their parts." When the agreements were released, comments in the press reflected this. On September 18, the *Washington Post* said, "He [Sadat] opened the way to signing a separate peace with Israel without obtaining at the same time an Israeli promise to give back all of the Arab land occupied in the 1967 war." The *Christian Science Monitor* on the 19th of September wrote that the Camp David agreements "amount to a separate peace agreement between Egypt and Israel" and it

is "in total contradiction to Mr. Sadat's stated objective..."

Mr. Sadat undoubtedly knew that what he was signing at Camp David with Begin and Carter would legally lead only to a separate peace agreement between his regime and Israel. The term "comprehensive and durable settlement" which appears in the preamble to the two agreements is not legally binding. When asked about the problem of "linkage" between the two agreements, Mr. Carter stated that in the minds of each of the negotiators it was clear that the settlement was to be a comprehensive one.

The two Camp David agreements, Israel's leaders state, are two separate and distinct agreements and nowhere in them is it mentioned that they are linked. It would be hard to believe that Mr. Sadat didn't know that the agreements are not linked; the better explanation for his acquiescence is that he knew the truth about the separateness of the accords but that Begin would not have signed the agreements with the linkage clause written in. So Sadat compromised yet again.

Mr. Sadat's insistence on the linking of the two agreements, it should be clear, intensified mainly prior to and directly after the Arab Summit which was held in Baghdad. The Baghdad Summit, which was expected to produce Sadat's capitulation, issued public resolutions, in addition to some secret ones. It is the secret agreements, some Egyptian officials said, which are

worrying Sadat and his aides because they could lead, according to the *Washington Post* on November 7th, to "Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to reduce or cut off their financial support." The *New York Times* of the same date wrote about the secret agreements as "providing for political and economic sanctions against Egypt if it concluded a peace treaty with Israel."

The still secret agreement, among other things, supposedly calls for a boycott by Arab countries of any Egyptian company that deals with Israel in accordance with Arab League boycott regulations. These measures also call for the relocating of the offices of the Arab League from Cairo to Tunis or Kuwait. The Arab League, it should be mentioned, has been in Cairo since its creation in 1945. In the meantime, until Sadat signs his separate peace with Israel, Arab League meetings will be held in various Arab capitals on a rotating basis.

Sadat's "bold initiatives" seem to continuously fail him. Much of what Mr. Sadat has done since and including the visit to Jerusalem a year ago was calculated on the premise that the rapprochement between Iraq and Syria is impossible. Like Mr. Sadat, the United States also did not think that such a rapprochement was possible and thus concluded that Syria could not stand alone without the protection of, or at best, the psychological dependence on Egypt. Considering the fact that Syria has about 30,000 troops in

(Continued on page 13)



Demonstration erupts on West Bank

The Palestinian Folk Troupe: Faith in Humanity and the Future

The final performance of the Palestinian Folk Troupe in North Bergen, New Jersey symbolized the success and the triumph over obstacles that has marked the first American tour of the Troupe. The owner of the New Jersey theatre had received a number of threatening phone calls, and was intimidated enough to try to cancel the performance. Yet 1500 people, many attired in native Palestinian dress, turned out to hear the last songs and dances of the Troupe.

Thirty members of the Jewish Defense League attempted to taunt the audience as they entered the theatre, by screaming insults and chanting "There is no such thing as Palestine." The sheer size and the joyous enthusiasm of the crowd was proof of the falsity of this slogan.

So also was, not only the art of the Troupe, but the lives of the teenagers themselves, as they told them to friends and supporters they met across America. The following sketches of some Troupe members encapsulate the tragedy, the struggle and the determination of the Palestinian people today.

Walid Hassan Salem, one of the youngest members in the Troupe, is fourteen years old. A talented clarinet player, he is shy and sensitive, always playing his instrument in the background, away from the limelight. His personal life projects the agony of the Palestinian people.

Born in Jerusalem, he cannot remember his beloved city. His family was forced to leave in June 1967 when the Israeli forces occupied the city. All he recalls is that he and the other eight children in his family found themselves penniless refugees, living in a tent in Sweileh refugee camp in Jordan. He can remember all too well the mud, sandstorms, and suffering of camp life.

Walid's father joined the Palestinian Resistance and died in 1973 in the Arkoub region in South Lebanon. Walid received



the news while his family was in Damascus. Upon the request of the Resistance, Walid and his brother Muhammad joined the 'Children's Happiness School' near Beirut, an orphanage founded by the Palestinian Arab Women's Union for children whose parents had died in the struggle for Palestine. As sons of a Palestinian martyr, they began to feel new family and national ties with other sons and daughters of martyrs.

Walid enjoyed his American tour and was impressed with the warmth of Americans he encountered. He said: "The American people treated us well. They showed understanding and compassion. Sometimes we don't feel this compassion in the Arab world." Walid Salem hopes to return to the United States to study, but he knows his financial situation will not permit this. Nonetheless, he hopes to learn to become a pilot one day.

Bashar Ahmad Suleiman al-Yusef is seventeen years old, and his sister *Amal al-Yusuf* is sixteen years old. Both are talented performers: Amal sings and dances popular Arab folklore and Bashar dances and plays folk music. Born in Nablus, they left with their mother in 1968 after their father was martyred. They lived in Zarka refugee camp in Jordan. Their mother was unable to work and they lived in grinding poverty. Finally, the Palestinian movement sent both children to the "Children's Happiness School" where they began to regain their human dignity and rediscover their talent.

Bashar noted the need for showing Palestinian folklore and culture to Americans, saying: "I hope other Palestinian folktroupes will come to the U.S. to present

our heritage and inform the American people about our struggle. The American people do want to know about us and our culture, although I feel that Zionism still distorts our image. In time, the Americans will know the truth." Bashar and Amal departed from New York back to Beirut saying "We will win, we will be free."

Fatima al-Wuhaed is fifteen years old, yet she sang as a professional with a deep resonant voice. The feelings of the Palestinian people shone through her folk and popular songs. Fatima was born in exile, in a refugee camp in Lebanon. Her parents had left the city of Safad in the Palestinian exodus of 1948. In 1972, with her father's death as a martyr, she joined the Children's Happiness School. She, like the other teenagers, felt that the American people could support the Palestinian people if they only knew the facts. To that end, she sang to tell the story of her people.

Raeda Taha, thirteen years old and her sister *Shereen* are the youngest children in the Troupe. Both gave the Troupe a dynamic and hopeful spirit. Raeda enchanted audiences with her joyous mode of performing popular and folk dances.

Both children were born in Jerusalem and their family was expelled by the Israeli military authorities in 1968. Their father, Ali Taha died in 1971 while fighting for the liberation of his homeland. Their mother was left alone with four children, so Raeda and Shereen joined the Children's Happiness School.

Samia al-Nijma, who played the role of the bride in "The Palestinian Wedding," is seventeen years old, and is a survivor of the

(Continued on page 13)



Raeda and Shereen Taha

Israeli Black Panther Condemns Separate Peace

Charlie Bitoun, a member of the Israeli Knesset and a representative of the Israeli Black Panther Party, which represents a segment of Israel's Sephardic (non-Western) Jewish population, gave the following speech at the Knesset on October 5. Bitoun abstained from voting on Begin's "peace proposal," while other members of the Democratic Front, to which the Black Panther Party belongs, actually voted against it. Bitoun said:

"Today I cannot vote against the Prime Minister's proposal, not because I care, if Menachem Begin really resigns as he threatened. On the contrary, he said, if he resigns, an important barrier among the many in the way of peace between the Arab Palestinian people and us would be removed. Because without true peace between us and the Arab Palestinian people, there will not be peace.

The truth is that I had many doubts about not voting against it, with members of the party, in the end. I view the only positive aspect in the whole Camp David agreements — the promise to remove settlements and the withdraw to the June 4 lines, and not only in one section. I won't object to the removal of settlements in the occupied territories.

On the other hand I obviously cannot vote for the Camp David agreements, because I can't ignore the negative sides and the dangers in these agreements.

The truth is, members of the Knesset, that the honorable Rabbi Menachem Begin, the honorable Kadi Anwar Sadat and the honored Bishop Jimmy Carter enlisted to their aid not only praiseworthy generals, witty lawyers and hypocritical diplomats, but even God, in order to design a scheme with one goal: to make it possible for Egypt to sign a separate peace with Israel at the expense of the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people, a scheme to prevent the realization of the Palestinian people's undeniable right to self-determination in its own state alongside Israel. Therefore I will not vote for the Prime Minister's proposal, but will abstain."

Baghdad Summit Affirms Palestinian Rights

The Ninth Arab Summit Conference held in Baghdad released a joint communique on November 5, 1978 that contained the principles and resolutions agreed upon in order to confront "the dangers and challenges facing the Arab nation, particularly in the wake of developments resulting from the signing by the Egyptian

government of the Camp David accords."

The Conference resolutions noted that "The struggle to regain Arab rights in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories is a general national responsibility in which all the Arabs must participate." On this basis, the summit affirmed that "no Arab party can act in isolation with regard to a solution of the Palestinian question or the Arab-Zionist conflict in general." The Camp David agreements were considered as "infringing on the rights of the Arab nation in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories; as having been concluded outside the framework of collective Arab responsibility as being in contradiction to Arab summit resolutions, the Arab League Charter and the United Nations resolution related to the Palestine cause."

In a statement of principle, the conference affirmed that: "All the Arab states should offer all forms of support and facilities to the Palestinian resistance in all its methods of struggle, through the PLO in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people inside the occupied territories and outside them, for the sake of liberation and restoration of the Palestinian people's national rights, including their right to return, to self-determination and to establish their independent state on their national soil. All Arab states are moreover bound to protect Palestinian national unity and to avoid interfering in the internal affairs of Palestinian action."

WAFA Comments on Baghdad Summit

On November 6, 1978, the political editor of WAFA, the Palestine News Agency, made the following comments about the Summit and about Egyptian President Sadat's policies:

"Sadat is following steps laid down for him by imperialism, step-by-step. He has no will of his own and is not the master of his own fate. It was therefore a mistake to ask Sadat to retreat from a position he does not really control, to think that all matters could be resolved in a tribal manner, to claim that "We are all Arabs," and to ignore that Sadat has become an "Israeli Arab," and thus his actions from now on will be directed against his Arab brethren. . .

In conclusion, Arab solidarity must not be an end in itself, it must be a means to an end, that of liberation, progress and freedom from external domination and exploitation. This means solidarity in struggle, in steadfastness, in rejecting Camp David. Otherwise, let there be a clear distinction between the real Arabs and the false ones, between those puppets who dance to strings pulled in Washington and Tel Aviv and those who truly represent the aspirations of the Arab nation."

International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People Observed November 29; U.S. will Boycott

The United Nations General Assembly has declared November 29, 1978 the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people. On that day, cultural exhibits, films, Palestinian speakers and events of many kinds will feature the history, culture and aspirations of the Palestinians. Many of the world's nations and liberation movements will be on hand to express their support and concern for the Palestinian people, who have suffered a sixty-year tragedy and eleven years of military occupation without losing their national heritage, their human dignity or their drive for freedom.

The United States, purportedly so concerned about Middle East peace and human rights, will not be among these nations. U.S. Ambassador Andrew Young in a letter to Senator Abraham Ribicoff and in a letter made public by the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, has announced, not only that the U.S. will boycott the Day of Solidarity, but that the U.S. opposes the work of the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People as a "misuse of funds" and "divisive."

For the Palestinian people to affirm their culture, their grievances and their aspirations an international forum like the United Naitons would, logically, seem not divisive but entirely appropriate for a forum concerned with peace. But the U.S. at the present is bent on ignoring the human and national rights of the Palestinians in all their dimensions in a frenzied effort to push through the Camp David accords. The attack on the U.N. Special Committee has been echoed in the 95th Congress where there was considerable pressure to cut off U.S. funds for the work of this Committee. The trend in the Administration and U.S. legislature at this point is unfortunately a hasty retreat from any recognition of rights for the Palestinian people.



Palestinian children in camp in Lebanon: U.S. refuses to recognize their rights.

Zionist Policy of Dividing Palestinians a Failure

In a searching examination of the situation of Palestinians living inside the 1948 borders of the Zionist state, poet and activist Samih al-Qassem cited the example of the Druze minority as an indication of the failure of Israeli policy to divide Palestinians. He remarked: "In the early years of Israel, the then Histadrut General Secretary, Rabin Baraka, declared that the Israeli ruling circles expect that Arabs will stay in the country. The Israeli establishment and its offshoot expressed their deep hatred of Arabs for the mere fact that the Arabs did not leave their homeland, that of their fathers and forefathers. This national hatred was reflected in the total treatment of the Arab minority, which took different forms, especially the policy of colonial discrimination inherited from the British policy of divide and rule. According to their logic, only a Muslim is an Arab. Besides that, there were attempts to create a kind of Druze, Christian, and Bedouin nationality.

But this attitude has suffered a total failure, and the current state of affairs indicate a deepening of national unity among Arabs in Israel. Even the Arab Druze community, which was subjected to a fierce campaign aimed at spiritual liquidation, has succeeded today in turning upsidedown the calculation of Zionist authorities. This small Arab community which does not exceed in number the population of Nazareth, maybe 45,000 people, has taught the Zionist establishment a good lesson in history and in politics. More than 70 percent of the lands owned by the Druze Arab peasants have been expropriated since the establishment of Israel. They have suffered from the military rule and from all kinds of discrimination, persecution and terror, just like their Arab brothers from other communities. Above all they have suffered from the compulsory military service which was forcefully put on them despite their strong protest and opposition. This arbitrary procedure which goes contrary to elementary human rights and which would have faced international protest had it been applied to even one Jew in the Arab countries. This procedure which has a bloody and sadistic character has provoked strong reaction from among the Arab Druze, and their villages were turned into a target for military and police night raids looking for deserters.

Thus the days of the storm troopers have returned back. As a reaction to this national insult, the committees was established in the Arab villages immediately after the law of compulsory military service was implemented in 1956. Afterwards the Druze Initiative Committee was established. It is today a partner in the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, and has become a major political force in the Arab sector.

Today hundreds of Druze youngsters are being continuously imprisoned because of their rejection to comply with the military service of occupants and occupation. The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality plays a leading position within the Arab Druze community, which is today characterized by a revolutionary trend of Arab popular masses. All official statistics reveal the lies of Zionist propaganda regarding the equality of treatment of Druze in Israel. In addition to the expropriation of about 70 percent of land owned by Druze peasants and the expropriation of lands owned by the Druze religious class, there is a flagrant discrimination in all spheres of life. The percentage of university students is the smallest in the whole world in the field of services. We notice for example that the Druze village of Beit Jem, which has a population of about 6,000 young people receives a development budget that does not exceed the sum of 2,800,000 Israeli lira, while the settlement of Ma'ilot with a similar population receives a budget of over 30 million Israeli lira. Therefore we can say that the Druze have suffered from an additional share of oppression directed to the Arab masses under Israeli rule."



Samih al-Qassem addresses AAUG Convention

U.S. Silent on West Bank Land Confiscation

President Carter and American officials have a disturbing habit of looking the other way as the Israelis continue their illegal seizure of Palestinian land in the West Bank and Gaza and the establishment of Israeli settlements. The official American posture is often of surprised ignorance at each Israeli announcement of new settlements or the "thickening" or expansion of existing ones. Charitable political analysts may even affirm that the U.S. has been "hoodwinked" by the Israelis.

In the case of the Palestinian village of Anata, on the West Bank, the U.S. can make no such claim. When the Israeli military governor closed 1742 dunams of the village's land for "security reasons" last spring, officials from the U.S. Embassy took pictures of the closed area and interviewed the Mayor of Anata. This October, another 6450 dunams were closed, as reported by Yahoda Litani, a correspondent for the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*. The people of Anata sent telegrams to President Carter, President Sadat and the U.N. Secretary General protesting the confiscation of their land. They stated that the land confiscation is part of an Israeli plan to establish a new settlements "Maili Adomim." President Carter has not responded but when news of a new Israeli settlement is published in the Western press, it will be informative to see the American reaction.

Arafat Calls Camp David a Surrender to Begin

On November 14, PLO Chairman, Yasser Arafat, held a news conference in Jeddah, after he had completed the 'Jerusalem Pilgrimage', in which he declared that "The PLO will not negotiate with Israel, for it complies with the explicit and unequivocal resolutions of the Arab states at the Khartoum, Rabat and Baghdad summits."

Arafat went on to note that: "What happened at Camp David was a capitulation to Begin's conditions. It contributed to Carter's success in the elections, but all of this is at the expense of Arab and Palestinian rights. The PLO naturally refuses these disgraceful and insulting conditions, for our Arab nation has not been defeated, nor has the Palestinian people."

Arafat declared that the Baghdad Summit resolutions, "which were unanimously adopted by the Arab heads of state, confirm their absolute rejection of the Camp David agreements and of the claim that they are part of the search for peace. It is imperative here to stress that we do not oppose peace, but we oppose capitulation."

He went on to affirm that: "We are in favour of a just peace based on international legitimacy, on the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people, as consecrated in UN resolution 3236. The U.S.A. however has opposed its implementation because this resolution demands the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people."



Mouen Besseiso: Poet of the Revolution

This fall, three great Palestinian poets — Mahmoud Darweesh, Samih al-Qassem and Mouen Besseiso — were in the U.S. to read their poetry at the AAUG Convention and in several major American cities. The following interview with Mouen Besseiso, a major poet and also head of PLO Unified Information in Beirut is indicative of the role played by poets in the Palestinian Resistance. Mouen Besseiso was born in Gaza in 1930 and joined the PLO in Beirut in 1965. He has read his poetry all over the world.

Q: Even for those of us who read Palestinian poetry only in translation, it seems clear that this poetry is among the most vital and innovative in the Arab world. Could you comment on this?

A: Palestinian poetry is a leading poetry in the Arab world for many reasons. First of all, much of the poetry of the Arab world is under censorship, forbidden to show difference scenes of political life. But we Palestinians have our own free voice. We create our poems without considering censorship. Our new poetry surfaced with the beginnings of the Palestinian Resistance and our strength stems from this resistance. We do not write to be published or famous. If you write to be published, you are mindful of censors, of this regime or that regime. And in the end, you are silent. When you write to publish, you are not a poet.

* * *

Another factor is that our Palestinian people in the Arab world write their poems in white ink, not in black ink. White ink is the ink of poets who want to go beyond the limits of established poetry. It is a poetry of new situations. I remember once I went to the South of Lebanon during the civil war and the partisans were reciting my poetry and their own poems as well. I was astonished they had the time and that they used their leisure to read and think. They said brilliant things about poetry.

In fact, you cannot separate between the Palestinian poet and the partisan, between the Palestinian gun and the Palestinian poem.

Q: In the United States, poetry is rarely seen as a voice for the oppressed. How does a poet see himself or herself in the revolutionary movement? What is the poet's contribution?

A: I remember the great American poet Gregory Corso once said: "Poets are the spies of the future." We give people the vision of the future. I remember during the

siege of Tal al Zaatar during the civil war, I was in the military operations headquarters in Beirut. Tal al Zaatar was surrounded by the fascists and bombarded every minute. The people had no water, no food, no medicine. The people had gathered by the radio — there were speakers all over Tal al Zaatar. But the batteries of the transmitter were fading quickly. The people too were weak and there were many wounded. There was only a very little power left but the people's last radio message was to ask me to go to the radio and recite the poem of Tal al Zaatar for them. I did this, trying to keep my voice strong. This shows you how poetry is related to the people, especially to those who are fighting. Our revolution will never be without poetry.

Q: What about poetry that is divorced from the revolution?

A: I believe that all great literary work is political, must have an idea, a cause. Poets who fight for the freedom of their people are cherished by the people and live in their memory. They are the people's wine and bread. During the Nazi occupation of France in the Second World War, the airplanes of the Allied Forces dropped leaflets all over France. They did not drop guns; they dropped the poem of Paul Eluard, the poet of the Resistance.

Q: You have mentioned several poets. What poets speak to you as a poet and committed revolutionary?

A: I consider myself very touched, very near, and influenced by the Spanish poet Federico Garcia Lorca. I will never forget the story of a soldier, a revolutionary partisan in the Spanish Civil War, who was surrounded by fascist troops. He kept on fighting even after he ran out of ammunition. When he was finally captured, the fascist officer said to him "You are not one, you are a hundred" and asked him the reason he fought so hard. The partisan took a book out of his jacket and said: "I fight you for the sake of this book." And the book was the revolutionary poems of Federico Garcia Lorca, a great book. Imagine, a fighter fighting for a book. In the Palestinian revolution, you can see this in action. Go to the South of Lebanon or the occupied territories, and along with bullets and guns, you will find our books and poems.

Q: Lorca himself was assassinated by the fascists. More recently, the Chilean folksinger and poet Victor Jara was murdered by the Chilean fascists and his hands broken because of his songs. Why do fascists see poets as such a danger to them?

A: Poets are dangerous to any fascist state because they are the conscience of the future. Poems are like the rain. It always falls to renew the earth and make it glisten. Even under fascism, the rain comes, as the poems come, and give the people hope and confidence in themselves and in the movement. I remember a German book called "Naked among the Leaves," written against the Buchenwald concentration camp. A partisan was being tortured and a fascist officer demanded he sign a false confession. The torture was extremely painful, and he took the pen to sign. He looked out the window at the wall of the firing squad with its bloody bricks. Out of the wall grew a small flower. The flower gave the partisan strength and he threw the pen away. This partisan is the people and the flower is the poem that gives confidence and strength to the people so that they continue to fight.

* * *

Q: You have called the Palestinian poet an outlaw. Can you speak of your own experiences writing poetry under difficult circumstances?

A: I was in a concentration camp for eight years in the Gaza Strip. In such a prison, you do not think in words, you think in pictures and poems. As the Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet once said, you dream of riding a horse through the air. You travel through your images. If you don't travel, you die a slow death. This gives your poetry a kind of intensity. You try not to forget how to write. We used to write on cigarette paper. Sometimes, my poems were smuggled out of prison in these cigarettes. If a newspaper published it and it came back to me, it gave me confidence I was not alone.

Q: Besides being a poet, you have the responsibility of heading Unified Information for the PLO. What do you feel it is important to stress about the Palestinian experience and cause to the American public?

A: I think the American people is a just people. We just have to show them the truth, nothing more. This will break down the walls between us. You know they call poets, the people without skin because they communicate without barriers. This is what I think can happen between the Palestinian and American people. Our only weapon, our greatest weapon, is the truth about our cause.

For an American Tourist

Pardon me, my lady,
but since you have come to us
on the very day when the poet's hands were
cut off
what is there in the Orient left for sale?
We have already sold to an old lady tourist
before you
the Tomb of Saladin, the Battle of the
Hittites,
and the Hanging Gardens of Babylon.
We sold them in the markets of the world
blossom and bud,
the finger and the ring, we sold.
Nothing is left but the pyramids.
How heavy the stones of the pyramids are!

The Sphinx is stabbed
and it will die
if taken away from this land,
even if out of its forehead the knife is drawn.

Pardon me, my lady,
we sold the last sarcophagus,
we threw the last inkpots into the Nile
and we slit the throat of the last cock that
crowed.

All that remains is God
running like a green gazelle
pursued by every hunting dog
pursued by the lie which rides on a pure
Arabian steed.

For you we will chase that steed.
For you, we will hunt down God.
My lady,
those who sold the poet will sell God.

By Mouen Besseiso

Translated from the Arabic by Rose Styron

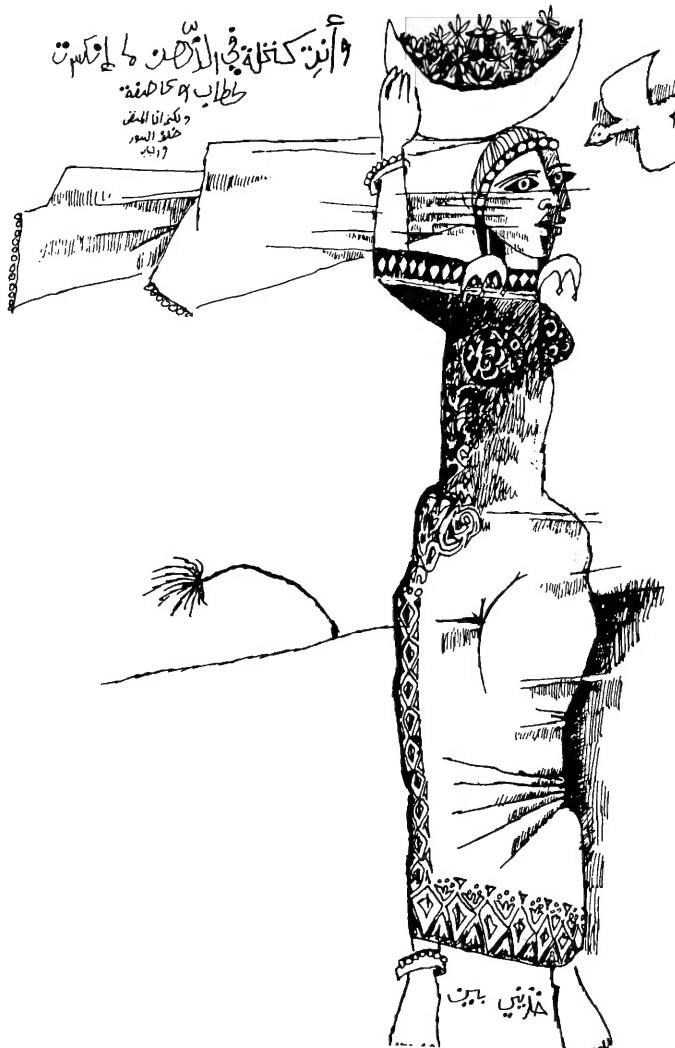


Illustration by Kamal Boullata

Palestinian Folk Troupe (Continued from page 9)

Tal al Zaatar massacre in 1976. She was born in Tal al Zaatar camp, where her parents lived after leaving Haifa in 1948. Samiha lived the agony of the camp and witnessed the bloody siege and the massacre where her parents and brother were killed by the rightists. At the Children's Happiness School, she began to regain her sanity and sense of worth, and with the other children, she developed hope for the future.

All the members of the Palestinian Folk Troupe are orphans and all have lived the agony of the refugee camps and witnessed the suffering of the Palestinian people all their lives. Yet together, they survived and developed a new sense of humanity which they project in their songs and dances. The children of Palestine, fatherless and stateless, have survived and are working for a peaceful future in their homeland, Palestine.

The Meaning of "Linkage" (Continued from page 8)

Lebanon within the contingents of the Arab Peacekeeping Forces there, it was reasoned that Syria would certainly follow in Egypt's footsteps. To the disappointment of both Sadat and the United States, this didn't happen.

* * *

Another premise which proved to be false, at least partially, was that the "moderate" Arab regimes would not join the "radical" regimes in condemning Sadat's capitulation with Israel and the United States. If they did, it was thought it would be to tone down any condemnation that may be expressed in the resolutions and to encourage support for Mr. Sadat's "wise and Nobel prize winning" strategies. That was also a critically bad miscalculation as the Egyptian mass media is now engaged in the beginning of what may become a fierce war of words with Saudi Arabia and the other Arab oil producing countries who didn't support Mr. Sadat's policies.

The *Christian Science Monitor* on November 15th quoted Egypt's state radio of November 14th attacking the Saudis as "Arab petrol potentates" who "rape their people and are a sore in the Arab world."

The Egyptian media went on attacking the oil rulers who are "hoarding their oil royalties and revenues in their safes and . . . depositing petro-dollars in secret foreign bank accounts. . . .", this being done "at the expense of their people and their legitimate rights and . . . against (an) awakening by their people. . . (who) will bring these rulers to account." The attacks even became meaner and harsher against the state of Kuwait and expectedly against Iraq. The FBIS Vol. V No. 221 of November 15 quoted the chief editor of Rose Al-Yusuf who wrote "This wealth" of Kuwait "has completely failed to cure the inferiority complex of the mini state of Kuwait."

The Saudi daily *Al-Riyadh* replied to the Egyptian attacks as quoted in the *Christian Science Monitor*, who wrote that it is

(Continued on page 14)

The Roots of the Sadat Initiative

Matti Golan, *The Secret Conversations of Henry Kissinger*, (New York; Quadrangle 1976)

The following excerpts from a more detailed review by Dr. Fuad Moughrabi, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga is of especial interest in the wake of Camp David for the light it sheds on some crucial decisions of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in the 1973 period and the roots of the U.S.-Egyptian relation which was to evolve into the "full partner" strategy of today.

In dealing with Sadat, in the negotiations following the October War Kissinger expressed 'surprise' at the readiness with which the Egyptian president grabbed the minor concessions. Kissinger's surprise derived from a correct assessment of the situation after the second cease-fire. Egypt's Third Army was not in as hopeless a situation as Western reporters wanted us to believe. The Israeli pocket west of the Canal was quite vulnerable to attack and possible decimation by the Egyptian soldiers. The necessary mobilization of the Israeli armed forces was costing the US a great deal of money and having negative effects on Israel's battered economy. Egypt could have therefore pressed for a global settlement and a favorable one at that, not only for Egypt and Syria but also for the Palestinians. By accepting the January disengagement, Sadat relinquished whatever strategic and political advantages he had. By gambling on dubious promises given by Nixon, Kissinger and Ford, he

overestimated the ability of an American executive to override a reluctant Congress. Even if the American executive were to become one hundred percent pro-Arab, the Congress, dominated as it is by the pro-Israeli lobby will not go along. The irony of the situation is that at a time when the US Congress seems intent on affirming its role in foreign policy-making, the Egyptian President gambled on a weak executive.

Thus, by losing the strategic and political initiative generated by the October War, Sadat permitted Kissinger to save Israel from having to make some serious concessions at a crucial moment of weakness. Kissinger was therefore able to defuse the situation, to preempt the USSR, to end the oil embargo, to draw Egypt out of the conflict, to open the doors for American corporations, and most importantly, he tried, unsuccessfully, to parochialize the Palestinian problem.

The evidence also suggests that Kissinger's attempts to bypass the Palestinian problem were part of his overall strategy. His view of the Middle East conflict as an Arab-Israeli conflict is consistent with US/Israeli interests in the area. Kissinger maintains that conflicts cannot be resolved but simply managed. The management in this case relied upon Kissinger's occasional wielding of Israeli military threat to impress upon the Arabs the need to accept whatever concessions, and his conscious manipulation of the PLO issue through periodic hints, leaks, or slips of the tongue to suggest that the US is nearing a breakthrough on the question of

recognizing the PLO, implying that the US intends, in the future, to tackle the difficult question of the Palestinians. The latter tactic was obviously used more to soften up the Egyptian and the Syrians than to threaten the Israelis. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that many of these feints and illusions were also designed to reassure or to manipulate Israeli public opinion.

In the short-run, Kissinger's diplomacy achieved some surprising results. He was able to rescue Israel and at the same time to open some new options for the U.S. in the Arab World. He did this by playing a subtle game of chess with the Egyptian president. The unfortunate thing is that the latter thought all along that the game was backgammon. Nevertheless, beneath the glow of partial success and beneath the new conceptualizations, Kissinger, Sadat, and the Israelis ignore a fundamental fact. As Eqbal Ahmed clearly points out:

Beneath the brilliance of Kissinger's construct there were pitfalls which a managerial mind could not perceive. . . The policy suffered from the same fundamental effects which contributed to US failures in Southeast Asia. . . it ran counter to the ongoing course of history, underestimated the power of emerging forces, sought stability in times of change and looked for client states in a century of national liberation. . .⁹

The Meaning of "Linkage"

(Continued from page 13)

"regrettable that an Arab country continues to hold talks with the enemy in a manner that bolsters the enemy's feigned desire for peace."

Mr. Sadat clearly then was not and is not happy with the Baghdad Summit, not only because of what its secret resolutions may say, or what its public resolutions state, but also because it proved his miscalculations. The Saudis and Kuwaitis in fact attended the summit with Iraq, Algeria, and South Yemen, and a reconciliation between Syria and Iraq was started which could lead to a very successful alliance.

The greater fact, however, is that Mr. Sadat's defensive stature versus the rest of the Arab world and his fake desire to produce a "linkage," may create a serious deception. Mr. Sadat's sudden discovery of the West

Bank and the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights as still occupied Arab land is intended to leave the impression that he indeed is arguing the Arab cause. The talk of "linkage" and the ups and downs of the Blair House talks is meant to dignify Mr. Sadat in the eyes of the Arab masses. The Camp David agreements were rejected flatly by the Palestinian people and the Arab people not because of the lack of linkage but because of the contents of the two agreements. If the linkage problem is solved, it will attempt to unsuccessfully force upon the Palestinian people a solution which they and their leaders have rejected.

The Camp David agreements are a sell out and a capitulation of Mr. Sadat to the United States and Israel. A linkage between them is not going to change their capitulative nature. Mr. Sadat's determination to include the clause of

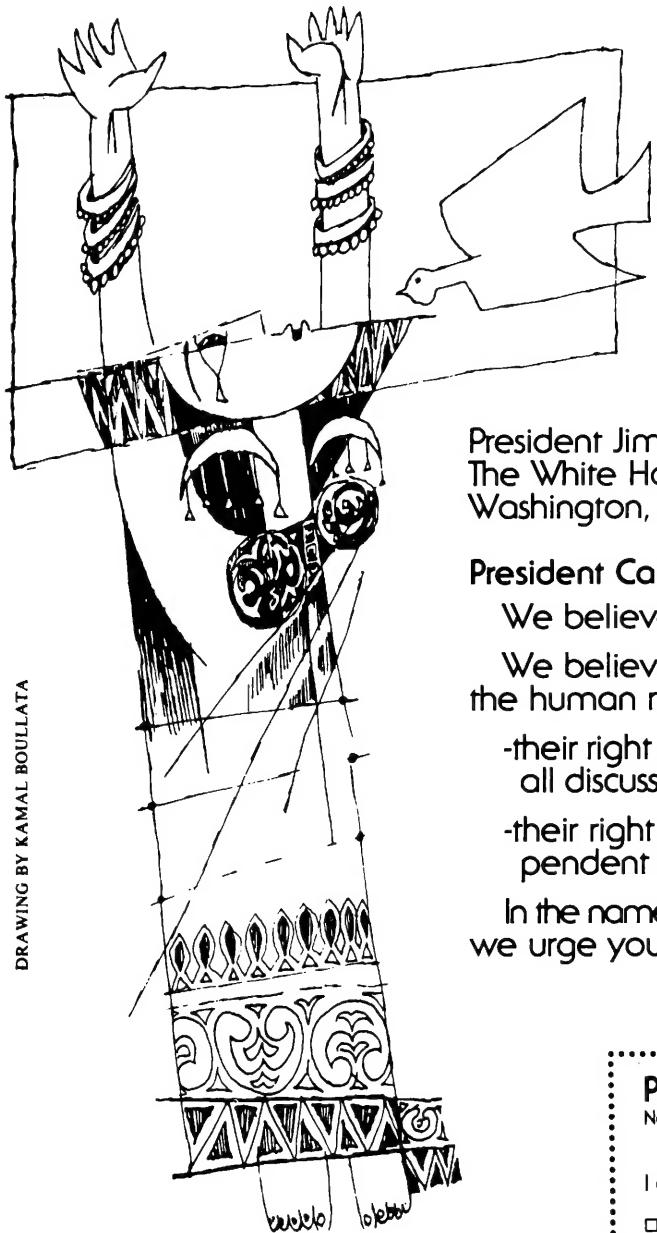
linkage is not going to make him the hero of the Arab people, and certainly will not change the Palestinian people's refusal to have anything to do with the Camp David agreements.

Assuming that Begin and his government agree to some kind of a loose linkage clause in the preamble of a peace treaty with Egypt, what then will change? Nothing, except the possibility that Mr. Sadat may be perceived by some people as fighting for the cause of the Palestinians — something which he badly needs. The presence of such a clause in the preamble of a treaty does not make it binding in any case. The "linkage" which the Egyptian regime is arguing for, and through which it hopes to pacify the Arab people and lessen their resistance to Sadat's peace talks with Israel, is a linkage between a

(Continued on page 16)

The following petition has been initiated by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. They plan to present 100,000 signatures to President Carter on December 10, which is Human Rights Day. Already, groups in campuses and communities throughout the country have collected thousands of signatures.

in the name of peace... in the name of human rights...



DRAWING BY KAMAL BOULLATA

The Camp David Agreements failed to satisfy, in any meaningful way, the rights of the Palestinian people to live as a free people with full human rights.

After thirty years living as homeless and stateless refugees, and after eleven years of military occupation—the dispersed and oppressed Palestinians have waited too long.

We believe that the time has come for the United States to fully recognize Palestinian rights.

Please endorse our petition to President Carter and return it to us today.

President Jimmy Carter
The White House
Washington, D.C.

President Carter,

We believe that human rights belong to all people;

We believe that our government, ought to recognize the human rights of the Palestinians, including—

-their right to be fully represented by their leadership in all discussions that seek to determine their future; and

-their right to live as a free people in their own independent state.

In the name of peace and in the name of human rights—
we urge you to act now.

Thank you

Palestine Human Rights Campaign
National Office, 1322 18th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036



I endorse your petition.

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The Meaning of "Linkage"

(Continued from page 14)

would be peace treaty by Israel and Egypt and an already rejected framework for peace regarding the West Bank and Gaza reached at Camp David.

The Camp David agreement which concerned the West Bank and Gaza, and which Sadat is trying now to link with the other agreement regarding the Sinai and Egyptian-Israeli peace, has been rejected by the Palestinian People and by their only representative, the PLO. Their rejection of it is not because a linkage was missing but because it does not answer the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. They also reject the accord because it does not recognize the leaders whom they have chosen to represent them, does not call for Israel to totally withdraw from all occupied Arab lands, including Jerusalem, and does not provide for the return of Palestinians to their homes.

The Camp David agreements do, however, provide for Israel to continue its occupation of Arab land, and legitimizes Israel's hold on it; it doesn't call for an end to the settlements policies of Israel, doesn't touch upon the city of Jerusalem, but, according to Begin, allows the city to remain Israel's united capital "eternally," and maintains Israel's hold on the Golan Heights. The Camp David accords also reject forever the right of the Palestinians to have a state of their own on their national soil. The injection of the clause of "linkage" is not going to answer all of the above questions nor will it solve them.

The leaders of the Palestinian people both on the occupied land and outside of it

rejected the Camp David agreement. The "linkage" clause will not change the substance of the agreement in any way. What it may do is to produce a timetable for the enactment of what these leaders have rejected. Nineteen mayors and heads of municipalities, religious leaders, university professors and their students, and almost all of the unions on the West Bank and Gaza have issued the October 1 declaration (see *Palestine Perspectives* #6) that firmly rejected the total content of Camp David.

* * *

The PLO in turn has issued the following rejection of Camp David which the linkage issue will not change: "The PLO firmly rejects the results of the Camp David Summit and . . . the essence of these results, whatever they may be entitled. . . The participants of the Camp David summit, whether Sadat or Carter have no right to bargain with the rights of the Palestinian People, and have no relation whatsoever with Palestinian interests."

Recently a PLO spokesperson said that the PLO rejects the linkage issue, the proposed elections on the West Bank and Gaza, and the self governing scheme. The linkage issue will not exonerate Mr. Sadat. On November 18, 1978, the *New York Times* wrote "At the Camp David talks in September, President Carter, President Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin agreed on two framework accords. The first dealt with an Egyptian Israeli peace treaty. . . The other accord concerned the ending of Israeli military government on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip and establishment of Palestinian self governing authority." Mr. Mubarak, Egypt's Vice President stated that "since the two accords at Camp David were signed the same day, the peace treaty should not be concluded in isolation." (*New York Times* November 18th) Mr. Mubarak's argument is certainly neither sound nor strong.

With or without linkage, the Camp David accords are remote from their connection to the question of Palestinian rights.

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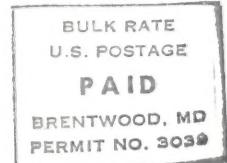
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